11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

instrument follows the thief's tracks and then comes back and reveals his identity and location to the shaman. If the object is merely lost, the *ibŏbŏt* searches for it and then informs the shaman where it is to be found.

Hunters occasionally lose their way in the forest, and their relatives immediately resort to the shaman to find them. The shaman's instrument locates the lost person and then returns to tell the shaman whether he is alive and homeward bound on the proper trail. If the person is still wandering aimlessly, the *ibŏbŏt* frequently nudges him in the right direction or enters his body and leads him home. Only the shaman can hear the voice of the *ibŏbŏt;* his dialogues with the instrument are inaudible to others.

One informant reported that in the old days the most powerful shamans of the tribe were able to turn people temporarily into animals. The Mundurucú in those times performed a ceremony called the *Duparíp*, which took place over a three-year period. As a part of this ceremony, the three most powerful shamans participating allowed their hair to grow to their shoulders and were believed able to turn the bizorro, an insect, into the tapir and men into the tapir or deer. Nobody was able to see them perform these acts; the transformed men simply disappeared. It was considered extremely dangerous to be thus selected by these powerful shamans, because the men, in the guise of tapirs and deer, were frequently chased by the dogs and could be killed. However, the shamans recognized the slain animals as their own creations and proceeded to change them back to men. They took out the heart and blood, placing them on the ground and covering the pile with leaves, and then blew tobacco smoke upon it and stamped upon the ground; the man emerged from under the leaves alive and intact. It is said that men who had undergone this experience were considered especially sacrosanct because of their former membership in the animal world, and their presence was especially valued at the ceremonies connected with the animal spirits.

Shamans possessing the power to assume this special ceremonial role were always married to equally strong female shamans. These women were able to transform other women into animals during the *Duparíp* ceremony and are said to have been capable of transforming a Brazil-nut husk with a length of vine inside it into a cutia.

Finally, some shamans engage in the practice of making a woman into a *yapŏ*, or wanton. No respectable shaman would perform such an act, however, and those who use their powers for such disreputable ends are called *mamú keren*, or bad or foolish shamans. Reprehensible though this may be to the Mundurucú, the *mamú keren* is not to be classed with the *ibŏkaipat*, or sorcerer, who is believed to be a dire threat to society. He causes disease and death, whereas the *mamú keren* merely converts women into nymphomaniacs, a practice that is rather ambivalently considered both disgraceful and highly amusing by the Mundurucú men.

The *yapŏ* indiscriminately copulates with all men who desire her. Characteristically, she does not smile modestly in the presence of the men, but grins and laughs

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in a manner thought to be quite lewd and suggestive. The other women look upon the *yapö* as a threat to their own marital happiness, but blame the men for her condition. Any sufficiently disreputable and irreverent shaman can make a *yapö* of a woman whom he desires. But, unlike love magic in most societies, once he creates her he must be prepared to share her with others, for his magic makes her want any and all men.

To make a *yapö* the shaman prepares a paste of sorva sap and urucú and mixes it thoroughly with the roasted and powdered body of the uirapurú bird. Smoke is blown upon the preparation and it is magically sent into the body of the unsuspecting woman. Another preparation is made with a piece of uirapurú meat, and a third is made by mixing brilliantine with either the brains of the boa boa bird or of the matrinchão fish. The use of the uirapurú as a love charm or symbol is widespread in the Amazon region, especially among Tupian groups. The Mundurucú believe it to be an enchanted bird and explain that, as the other birds of the forest follow the uirapurú, so also will the men follow a woman who has been bewitched with a charm made from its body.

The *yapö* is not physically damaged by the spell cast over her by the shaman. She appears happy and laughs constantly; her appetite for men is insatiable, but she enjoys herself thoroughly when in their company. However, her condition is viewed with disfavor by the other women, and she becomes marginal to female society. Also, she soon becomes the subject of widespread gossip and ridicule, both of which are unendurable to a Mundurucú. For these reasons, the *yapö* generally goes to the shaman to be cured. He extracts the charm by the same techniques used to take out *cauši* and then recommends a preparation made of sorva sap and the root of a tree near which a jaguar has slept or rolled about. The woman applies this preparation to her face and body until she feels that she has been completely cured. The remedy is considered to be effective in keeping men away as it partakes of the qualities of the jaguar, which is considered an ugly and repulsive animal by the Mundurucú.

The treatment is not always effective. A young woman of the village of Cabruá went to the shaman to be cured of her condition. During the following days a marked change was noted in her deportment. She smiled demurely behind her hand and no longer fixed the men with direct and inviting glances. But as the days passed, she returned slowly to her old ways and was soon meeting the men in the underbrush surrounding the village. When the shaman who had performed the cure was asked why she behaved in this manner, he shrugged and replied, "Sometimes the treatment works, and sometimes it does not."

Sorcery

When his power is used for socially approved purposes, the shaman is accorded the respect due a major benefactor of the community. But his power can be used for evil ends, and witchcraft is invariably believed to emanate from shamans gone bad. The sorcerer or *ibökaipat* is thought by the Mundurucú to engage in his nefarious practices with conscious and deliberate intent. All shamans have